

243 propelled threshing machine, the grain must be cut with longer stalks. A Colapete man, five of his children, ranging from 4 to 21 years in age, and a 76-year-old relative were observed harvesting a field (February 23, 1947) which had been sown by the father and the relative for equal shares at harvest time. The grain was cut very early in the day by the older persons. At about 10 o'clock, all seven persons were in the field. All but the father collected the grain into piles; each tied his pile together with either a cord or a trawee (woven belt) and carried it to the concart, the small children and a 19-year-old girl carrying their bundles on the head, the old relative and a 21-year-old girl, on the shoulder. Taller persons threw their bundles onto the concart; the father reached for those of the shorter ones (pl. 8, 1). The father, by hand, carefully placed each bundle with care toward the middle of the concart, then untied the cord or trawee and dropped it on the ground to be used again. While waiting for bundles, he packed the ones on the concart by stepping on the middle of the stalks.

The father and the old relative took the load of grain to the threshing machine the following morning. After they had paid for the threshing (payment had to be in grain; money was not accepted) they settled 110 kilograms over the 80 kilograms planted in the field. Both men were depressed about the yield. They had observed that morning, while waiting at the threshing machine, that three combined concart loads from another valley in the Andes had produced more than 1,000 kilograms. Both men explained that the earth in Colapete Valley had only a thin layer of black topsoil, that one needed to dig down only a very little distance to find the beginning of a great depth of pebbles of volcanic origin. "The tillable soil of our valley is tired," one said. "It will soon be difficult to raise even peas or beans in it." Since threshing is no longer a communal affair in Colapete, the traditional festivity with a plentiful meal is no longer a part of the occasion.

244 Potatoes are a staple Araucanian food. Every family plants a garden-sized patch of them. Where there are two sheepfolds, these are used in alternate years for the planting. The entire family generally helps with this operation. The man, or a son old enough to know how, plows the soil, if the patch is located where this can be done, or spades it. He, his wife, and older boys and girls then hoe the ground into hills, in which the potatoes are planted. If no sheep corral is used, the smaller children of the family scamper across the pastures and collect cow and sheep manure and place some on each hill. Weeding during the growing season is usually done by the man or an older son.

A vegetable garden is an essential for every household. Vegetables include arbutos, cabbage, lettuce, peas, beans, carrots, multiple

onions, chili, garlic, and occasionally corn, radishes, and tomatoes. Garden herbs used in seasoning are peppermint (*yerba buena*) and native mint, *orégano*, and *tomillo*. The man or older son generally prepares the soil of the garden. The woman does the planting and directs older daughters, and sometimes younger sons and daughters who are old enough, in assisting her. Helpers may lay claim to parts of the garden and take the responsibility for them. "Small children will point out patches of potatoes, carrots, onions, etc.," said a teacher, "and will say, 'They belong to me: I planted them.'" Until the garden has sprouted, small girls, and sometimes boys too, must be on the alert to chase away the small green parrots, which also infest wheat fields at seeding time. Generally school-age children weed and hoe the garden with the help of the mother; or if the mother is incapacitated, her husband will take over.

Those who believe that wheat should be planted at the waning of the moon believe that potatoes and gardens should be planted at that time, also. Quoting a 30-year-old Cofiaripe man: "No, the effect does not lie in the earth; most certainly the earth is always the same; the effect lies in the moon. I follow the old custom, but, in truth, I do not have much faith in planting with the moon."

Nearly every household has adopted items of European horticulture. Rarely is a *ruka* seen that does not have one or more apple trees; an occasional one has a cherry, pear, or peach tree. Gooseberry bushes also were seen occasionally. There were flowers in nearly every garden and often along fences or walls of *rukas*. A Cofiaripe family had a fenced-in flower garden that had been planted by the seven children of the family. It contained dahlias, hollyhocks, sweetpeas, bachelor buttons, pansies, daisies, and sunflowers. Seeds of vegetables and flowers were obtained at Mission stations, or bought at Chilean stores, or had been harvested from one's own or a relative's or friend's garden. Shade trees near *rukas* were often native pine trees, but a few homes had a eucalyptus or a chestnut tree, seeds of both having been brought into the areas in recent years by Europeans. (Pl. 27, 1.)

DOMESTICATED ANIMALS, GRAZING

According to Cooper's sources (1946, pp. 703-705) domesticated animals in the early days were the dog, used in hunting; the llama; maybe the guinea pig; and in the south, the guanaco. The llama was bred for its wool and to serve as a pack animal; it was used, also, in payment of the bride price and as a sacrifice in religious ceremonials. Its meat was eaten only at important social or religious feasts. Neither

The chaff is removed on a windy day by letting the wind blow through the kernels as they are slowly let fall off a spadelike wooden implement with which they are lifted off the ground. Before using the grain as food, it is winnowed on a winnowing tray or, if the family lacks one, in a pan or dish. 243

Non-Araucanian informants noted that horticulture probably had its beginning among the Araucanians with the introduction of the apple tree. The fact that there is no Araucanian word for apple—the Spanish word, *manzana*, is used—strengthens the belief. Today groves of wild apple trees (*manzana silvestre*), producing hard, sour apples, are found scattered throughout the Araucanian country, near creeks, rivers, and lakes, from Pulmarí to San Martín de los Andes; single trees or three or four of them can often be seen at springs, probably locations of former homesteads (pl. 64, j). The southernmost grove is near Meliquina (close to lat. 41° S.); a forest of them is found near Lake Alumise (just north of lat. 39° S.). It is said that these cultivated groves and forests resulted from former cultivated ones, and that from their locations one can infer that in the days when settlements had to be accommodated to grazing lands, *toldérras* were erected nearby at harvest time. Groves of old trees already existed when informants were young. It is interesting to note that the *araucaria* (pl. 72, j) are found mainly between latitude 37° and 40° S., practically the same area in which the wild apple is found. 245 [177]

The personnel of the Intendencia de Parque Nacional de Lanín believe that some wild-apple trees are 300 years or more old. A casual sample felled in 1950 had 180 rings, "and it was not an old or very large tree." In general it is believed that Jesuit Fathers introduced the apple trees from Chile in the seventeenth century. Tree-ring dating might verify the time of introduction.

Today cultivated apple, peach, plum, and cherry trees are seen about many homes. Every family has a vegetable garden. Gardens are worked with hoes. Women plant the seeds by hand. Informants were raising potatoes, beans, peas, corn, cabbage, lettuce, garlic, and *cinantro*. Several women were also raising medicinal plants, most frequent among them, *teronjil*. There is a belief that wheat, potatoes, beans, and peas must be planted during the first quarter of the moon if a good harvest is desired; planting them at any other time will result in an abundance of leaves but a scanty yield. 244 ● [246] [247]

An occasional garden and field, today, is fenced in (pls. 64, i; 70, i; 76, j); many more need to be fenced to keep sheep and cattle out. More glades could be planted with wheat if they could be protected against grazing animals. Material for fences is difficult to obtain. 231 417

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242 decrease in productivity. In turn, of course, the poor output results in higher prices for seeds, flour, and other products.

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241 The expenditure of labor needed to prepare the soil is not great. No exceptional traction is required, and generally a 20-centimeter depth of pulverization is sufficient. In effect, this means that disc plowing and other operations could be performed adequately with ox traction. The only exception to this occurs near the coast, where there are still large stands of trees.

For cereals, a field might receive from one to three plowings. *Chacarria*, especially potatoes, requires more effort; labor is performed with greater care. In red-clay soils, fields are prepared (*barbecho*) in August and September; in loamy soil preparation may take place in October, November, and even December. For the rest of the agricultural work, the season is largely optional, depending on weather conditions.

About 60 per cent of the arable land in Cautin Province is at present planted annually by machine. This indicates a great increase in the use of tractors and seeding equipment among the large landowners and those who depend upon them for the rental of farm equipment.

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243 Of all crops grown, wheat is the most important and accounts for about three-fourths of the land cultivated annually. Winter wheat predominates over spring wheat in a ratio of 15:1. Winter varieties are planted in April-May and into July. About half the wheat is sown broadcast, and the quantity of seed used fluctuates between a maximum of about 180 kilograms per hectare to a minimum of 120. Returns per hectare vary between 6 and 25 metric quintals (a metric quintal equals 100 kilograms), averaging 10. The Mapuche tend to sow less seed per hectare (between 90 and 120 kilograms) and have sparser harvests.

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[433] Oats follow wheat in importance; their average yield being about 8 metric quintals per hectare. Barley and rye are also grown, with apparently favorable results in areas not well suited for wheat, but the amount is too small to have an appreciable effect on the trend in farm production.

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[44] Harvesting begins in the first half of January if the fields are dry. Oats are generally harvested first, wheat next along with linseed, and then lentils, peas, and potatoes. The season ends in May. More than 40 per cent of the cereal crop is harvested entirely by machine, the

rest by combined machine and manual labor. Potato harvesting is completely manual. A
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Among *chacareros*, potatoes and peas are of greatest importance, potatoes being grown on about one-third of the area set aside for *chacareros* annually. For the three to five years preceding 1953, however, the province suffered from a severe potato blight (*tarda*) which greatly reduced output.

Depending on the topography, potatoes are cultivated in two ways. The hillside and sloping ground are sown early (*tempranera*), while the lowlands, being more humid, are sown late (*tardia*). *Tempranera* takes place in August and on a limited scale; it is destined for immediate local consumption. *Tardia*, which is sown between October and December, forms part of the harvest that finds its way to the market with the rest of the national agricultural product.

Peas also account for about one-third of the land set aside for *chacareros* and, like potatoes, are sown *tempranera* and *tardia*. On the higher ground, wheat is generally sown in the same fields from which peas have been harvested. Among more technologically advanced Chileans, the land is fertilized before wheat is planted; but it is commonly thought that the mere change from peas to wheat is sufficient to insure adequate growth. B
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An estimated 14 per cent of the total agricultural land is given over to pasture during periods of fallow. This is the sort of grazing land called *pasto natural*. Total natural pasturage, including uncultivable land such as Andean valleys, woodlands, wet lowlands, and so forth, is about 640,000 hectares, or about a third of the area of Cautin Province. Only 180,000 hectares represent sown pasturage. C
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Improvement of pasturage is one of the more important problems facing Chilean farmers. The number of livestock is diminishing; erosion is ruining overgrazed fallow land which could be sown in grain or clover; soil depletion is limiting the quantity and quality of *pasto natural*. Furthermore, the availability of natural pasture varies seasonally. It is fairly abundant in spring and early summer, scarce in the dry part of summer and autumn, and almost nonexistent in some regions in winter. This type of pasture is able to support about five cows per hectare annually, according to government calculations which seem to be optimal. Meat and wool production is poor; mangle is prevalent but neglected. All animals suffer from pests for which they receive inadequate treatment.

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Mapuche

THE AGRARIAN SETTING

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ventory of chacareto on the reservations, but are sometimes raised by Chilean farmers. Within the last few years, some Mapuche near Temuco have begun to grow sunflowers in small amounts wholly for sale. Manure fertilizer is used to enrich the garden crops, but chacareto such as peas, beans, and potatoes are not fertilized if grown in large quantity in the fields. [241] [237]

Since 1949 the province has been suffering from a severe potato blight which has literally reduced to near starvation some of the reservation groups living in the coastal zone where potatoes are of great importance and once formed a major part of the diet. Mapuche living in the Central Valley, where wheat is the principal crop, have been less affected. In the Andean region, where the blight seems not to have been as devastating, and where oca is something of a substitute for potatoes, the blight's effects have not been very serious. [231] [244] [247] [243]

Harvesting techniques range from hand-sickle operations to combine harvesting. While the former is practiced by virtually every Mapuche farmer, at least for part of his crops, the latter practice is rarely encountered on the reservations. A combine is used only when provided by a Chilean farmer who is working in half-shares with an Indian. However, ox-drawn harvesters (epicadones) are rather widely used in the Central Valley reservations. They are used primarily for harvesting wheat and are rented to individual Mapuche farmers by fundo owners or entrepreneurs who live in the towns. As the harvest operations get under way, harvesters tour the region outlying Temuco and other towns. They are rented for a percentage of the harvest, rather than for cash. Threshing machines are also made available to Mapuche under similar conditions. [243] [407] [227] [241]

There is a pronounced receptivity to "modern" farm machinery among the Mapuche. Although the rented equipment usually clears a field in a few hours at most, which otherwise would have taken an individual family several days to harvest by hand, the rental price seems out of proportion to the labor saved (and is often immediately repented by the Mapuche), especially in view of the fact that the harvest returns may be as little as 3 or 4:1, as they were in both 1952 and 1953 in many parts of the reservation area. Indeed, returns are sometimes so small that family members scow a harvested field for spikes of wheat untouched by the machine and salvage grain left on the ground after the threshing machine moves to another part of the reservation. On three or four hectares of land, these gleanings may [243] [244] [247] [241]

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Mapuche

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MAPUCHE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

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[433] amount to a bushel of grain, which is considered sufficient return for the extra work. Had the field been hand-harvested, such loss would have been much reduced.

Hand harvesting is done with sickles. The sheaves are either tied and stacked at intervals or forked into stacks. After the field is cut, the stacks are loaded into oxcarts and either brought home for flailing or animal threshing, or taken to a threshing machine temporarily set up in the vicinity. Some of these manual operations are performed by every Mapuche farmer, even though part of the work may be done by machine. Crops which ripen early or late are often harvested by hand, because the machinery may not be available. Late crops, too, are generally those raised in the poorest, smallest, and most inaccessible fields that have no roads for the passage of large machines. In general, small harvests are reaped by hand and often by an individual family without assistance from neighbors. In the wheat belt of the Central Valley, oats, linseed, and barley are usually harvested in relatively small amounts, representing less than a fifth or sixth of the amount of wheat harvested. *Chacarera* in this zone is generally confined to small plots adjacent to the house, and is hand-harvested — most often by women, who also do the cultivating. In the coastal zone, however, peas and beans are substantial field crops and are often harvested by machine. If the harvest is small, though, they may also be flailed or animal-threshed.

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554 It is difficult to estimate the relative importance of cattle and sheep in the Mapuche system of values. Both are highly esteemed, as much for the prestige involved in owning large herds as for actual commercial value and meat for home consumption. Considering the former aspect, ownership of cattle is perhaps more prestigious, while owning many sheep assures a marketable product, produced with little care, and a more convenient source of meat for the household.

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[660] Sheep are eaten in quantity, but are also highly prized for their wool, which is both sold and used at home for the manufacture of clothing. They are shorn in the spring when their wool is long. At shearing, sheep are dipped in a commercial disinfectant or in a traditional product generally concocted from *canelo* water and other ingredients. The apparatus used for dipping is often no more than a hollow log. Mange is treated with salve and a commercial dip in some cases, but it is quite common for a mixture of *canelo* water and putrid human urine to be applied to the affected parts of the animal.

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592 Oxen are in a class by themselves. They are the only draft animals

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

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MAPUCHE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

311 the concentration of wheat production and the simple rotation of
[242] fields in the Roble Huacho region. Rotation of crops permits more
of the land to be farmed each year, natural pasturage rather than fal-
[241] low fields serving for the herds. Even less wheat is raised on Huilcan
than on Llanccaman, a feature it has in common with many reserva-
[433] tions along the coast. Crop yields are about the same as on Llanccaman,
and are consistently higher than in the Roble Huacho region, aver-
aging better than 6:1. Nevertheless, owing to the fact that so little
land is cleared, scarcely enough crops are harvested to feed the in-
habitants throughout the year.

311 Huilcan was one of the poorest reservations I visited and surely

731 the poorest one on which I lived and worked in 1953. From what

• 244 I could judge, the hardship began around 1947, at which time most

433 of the land was planted in potatoes. That year there was virtually a

[114] total crop failure. People borrowed what they could and ate into re-
serves such as cattle and sheep. They consumed most or all of their

seed, and used up nearly all their pigs and fowl. Some assistance was

[48] received from the *Caja de Crédito*, but successive crop failures since

1947 have made credit almost impossible to obtain. It is only recently

[187] that the residents have begun to diversify their crops, apparently re-

signed to the fact that they are not able to cope with the potato

blight (even by holding fertility rites). The people regarded a pro-

648 posed government appropriation of approximately 30,000,000 pesos

311 for all Mapuche in Araucanía (1953) as a windfall, but felt that the

small share they might receive would be of little lasting help.

Although there is no scarcity of cultivable land, the people despair
of freeing themselves from their present state of hardship without
government assistance. There is no general agreement as to what the
government should do for them short of providing them with the
necessities of life. Some residents, including the chief, feel that a large-
scale drainage and clearing project should be undertaken with govern-
ment help — that is, with government machinery and skilled labor.

871 Many people are also severely critical of the educational system in the
government schools, since their children learn merely the fundamen-
tals of reading and writing and spend a good deal of their time singing
psalms (Christian religion is part of the curriculum in all government
schools). They feel that agricultural courses should be taught, but few
of them realize that the government does not have adequately trained
personnel for such a program.

311 For a more detailed picture of the man-land ratio, the amount and

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

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MAPUCHE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

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[24] (murke) set out for the workers while they take breaks from their labors. Women tend to remain at home on these occasions, unless they have been invited by the host's wife to assist in the preparation of the meal. They do not make contributions of food, but they serve the men when they take their noon meal and, if the work lasts until late evening, help with a second meal.

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[24] Repair of the communal roads is usually organized by a chief and participated in by most of the males of the reservation. This also applies to draining swampland, if a large part of the reservation is affected. Small-scale drainage operations might involve only a few families, in which case the chief qua chief takes no part. The participation of a chief in all of these matters implies some organizational or managerial activity, but is most important in symbolizing the importance of the work group. The chief seldom performs a full day's work along with the others, although he may work for a short period and usually provides a team or two of oxen if they are needed. The chief also contributes some food and drink, but usually a large meal is not required, and the workers take their main meal at home.

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[24] Most threshing is done by machine today and *mingaco* arrangements are rarely encountered in this activity. This machinery is generally rented from the same entrepreneur who owns the harvesting equipment. However, in some parts of Araucanía machines do not have easy access to Mapuche reservations owing to poor roads and rugged terrain. Horse threshing and sometimes ox threshing still occur, therefore, especially in the remoter parts of the indigenous zone, such as around Lake Budi and in parts of the Andean foothills. Animal threshing and even hand-flail threshing are resorted to when certain crops are grown in small amounts, or when harvests are very poor. Grains are almost always machine-threshed if it is possible to haul them by cart to a stationary machine, but peas and beans are not raised in large enough quantities to make this worthwhile. As late as twenty years ago in the now heavily mechanized Temuco region machines were rare and large *mingacos* were held for harvesting and threshing wheat and oats, the principal cereal crops grown. Sometimes, instead of animals, people trampled the stacks of grain, couples dancing to the sibilant tone of the *pifülka* and traditional Mapuche songs.

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[24] *Mingacos* are still frequent today, although they tend no longer to be held in connection with the major harvesting and threshing operations in most of Araucanía. They are characteristically made up of

- 594 roof. Unless there is accord between father and son, the latter is likely
178 to leave the reservation, for the father still controls the distribution of
his land. But respect in this case is with regard to economic judgment.
Even though there might be antagonism between father and sons in
[613] the sphere of economic activities, sons are dutiful toward their father
in the area of ritual activities, the father as elder member of the line-
age enjoying a position of religious and moral importance. This re-
[596] lationship overrides the purely economic interests between family
members, whether domiciled under a single roof, in an extended-
family compound, or dispersed on the reservation.

Husband-Wife Relationships

- 593 Marriage changes the status of a man and woman in relation to
one another as well as to other persons and groups in the society.
[591] Under the traditional rules of patrilocal residence (by reservation)
[618] the woman makes the greater adjustment, since she leaves her natal
group and becomes a member of her husband's residential kingroup.
But the man, likewise, although not to the same extent as his wife,
finds his activities modified and his relationships changed both with
respect to his natal group and that of his wife.

Economic cooperation between husband and wife is close and complementary. Wives help with the field work when this is necessary; husbands with domestic chores when the occasion arises. In a well-organized household husband and wife continually discuss the state of the family's resources.

- [561] Women exert an appreciable influence over their husbands, and
many of their suggestions concerning subsistence activities are
heeded. Although there is individual variation in this matter, a
woman may very likely influence her husband in the sale of animals,
growing specific amounts of crops, and in planting certain crops as
opposed to others. She certainly is outspoken about the need to purchase items of household equipment and replace worn-out clothing,
which demands are generally conceded as soon as funds or credit are
available. While these decisions ultimately rest with the husband, an
interested and competent wife is able to exert a directive influence.

- [344] It is usually the case that the wife manages the vegetable gardens
[460] and the household with little interference from the males of the
family. She is free to market the garden produce, chickens to which
[422] she might have given special attention, eggs, woven goods from her
loom, and the like. In a well-functioning household, however, such